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AUTHOR Strech, Lorie L.
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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses stereotypical racial beliefs among the second and third grade Hispanic children. The study developed after several students displayed stereotypical beliefs in discussions about other ethnic groups and interactions with members of other ethnic groups. The paper examines research from the 1930s to the present. This examination serves as a basis for the question: How can educators dispel racial stereotypes held by students? Using research as a point of departure, educational literature and curriculum aimed at dispelling stereotypes is described and analyzed. Several terms essential for understanding the research involving stereotypes and curriculum for dispelling stereotypes are defined including: stereotype, prejudice, racism, multicultural education, and anti-bias. Literature and curriculum that arose as a result of the earlier research is reviewed. Major issues, controversies, and contributors to the field of research of stereotypes are outlined. A synthesis and analysis of research and literature concluded that dispelling stereotypes is a crucial part of social studies instruction, but that teaching about and dispelling stereotypes can feel risky to teachers because of the sensitive issues involved. An additional conclusion was that objectives in the affective domain should be included in all social studies instruction. (Contains 50 references.) (DK)

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The Development of Racial Stereotypes in Children and Education's Response: A Review of the Research and Literature

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By Lorie L. Strech
March 21, 1994

Presented to Dr. Mary Jo Lass
Advanced Studies in Teaching Social Studies
California State University, Long Beach

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According to the History-Social Science Framework of California (California Department of Education, 1988), all students should develop "an understanding of people as individuals rather than as stereotypical members of a particular group (p.24)". James Lynch (1987) asserts that racial and gender stereotypes form the basis for prejudice and discriminatory behavior.

Although there exists a relationship between racial and gender issues in relation to stereotypes, this paper will focus on racial stereotypes in light of the incidents in the author's classroom. The author's class consists of 32 second and third grade students of Hispanic origin and/or affiliation. The students interact with other ethnic groups on a daily basis in class and on the playground.

The idea for this paper arose after several students displayed stereotypical beliefs through discussions about other ethnic groups and interactions with members of other ethnic groups. During an introductory lesson for a unit on Japan, students were asked to share any existing knowledge about the country of Japan or the Japanese people. As students began to share, several stereotypes arose. Many students believed that all Japanese people are employed as managers (in the field of business) and that all Japanese people "talk funny". Subsequent discussions during the introductory lessons for units produced evidence of stereotypical beliefs in regard to Native Americans, Africans, and African-Americans.

In addition to the stereotypical statements made in class, two Hispanic students in the author's class were involved in an after-school quarrel with several African-American students. During the quarrel, derogatory racial comments indicating a stereotypical belief about African-Americans were made by the Hispanic students.

In light of the behavior of the students, a need for instruction aimed at dispelling existing stereotypes and hindering the formation of new stereotypes became apparent.

Addressing stereotypes should be a significant concern of educators. Students are maturing in a changing society. They are more likely to interact as children and as

adults with members of other cultural groups in a variety of settings including school, the workplace, and facilities such as parks, restaurants, and stores. According to Barbara Vobejda (1991), minority groups are expanding away from traditional ports-of-entry into cities and suburbs throughout the United States. This movement, along with the increase in minority ("non-white") population, has resulted in "a nation more diverse than at any time in history (Vobejda, 1991)".

Dealing with stereotypes is a subtle, yet far reaching component of the social studies curriculum. The issue of stereotypes infiltrates several strands within the three goals of the History-Social Science curriculum (California Department of Education, 1988). Dispelling ethnic stereotypes is important in the development of historical, cultural, ethical, and sociopolitical literacy. An accurate portrayal of ethnic groups provides a frame of reference for a true understanding of the issues involved in these strands. Furthermore, stereotypical beliefs may hinder the adoption of values and behaviors inferred by the objectives of the strands of national identity, constitutional heritage, and civic values, rights, and responsibilities. For example, a child who holds a stereotype of African-Americans as being less intelligent than European-American, may believe that this group is somehow inferior and thus, may not believe that democracy and fairness should be extended to this group in all cases.

The area of stereotypes is specifically addressed in the strand of participation skills. Holding non-stereotypical beliefs about members of ethnic groups is, according to the Framework, a personal skill to be developed in every student in kindergarten through grade twelve.

The topic of stereotypes relates to other fields of social science. The field of psychology has produced much of the research on stereotypes within the broader context of attitudes. The field of sociology is also concerned with issues relating to stereotypes as well as the prejudice and discrimination that can result from stereotypical beliefs.

All in all, the author believes that there is adequate evidence to support the need for educators to address ethnic stereotypes at all grade levels.

Statement of the Problem

The focus of this paper is twofold. The first question that this paper will attempt to answer is: How do children develop racial stereotypes?. Before thoughtful recommendations for dealing with racial stereotypes can be presented to educators, a thorough knowledge of the origins of stereotypical beliefs in children is required. This need to understand how racial attitudes develop is supported by Patricia Ramsey and Leslie Myers (1990). An examination of the research from the 1930s to the present involving stereotypes will serve as a basis for the second issue addressed in this paper.

The second question this paper will attend to is: How can educators dispel racial stereotypes held by students?. Using research as a point of departure, educational literature and curriculum aimed at dispelling stereotypes will be described and analyzed.

Definitions

This section will define several terms essential for understanding the research involving stereotypes and curriculum for dispelling stereotypes.

Stereotype

"Stereotypes are rigid, overgeneralized beliefs about the attributes of ethnic groups members..." (Aboud, 1988, p.5)

"An attitude to, or belief about, people or things of a certain category that is probably over-simplified and incorrect."(Dictionary of Education, 1981)

"A stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category." (Allport, 1954, p.191)

A stereotype is "the classification of individuals and the attribution of characteristics to those individuals or to groups on the basis of prejudiced, irrational, and non-factual conceptions and information." (Lynch, 1987, p.24)

"A stereotype is a preconceived or oversimplified generalization involving negative benefits about a particular group. Negative stereotypes are frequently at the base of prejudice." (Anti-Defamation League, 1985)

"An oversimplified generalization about a particular group, race, or sex, which usually carries derogatory implication." (Derman-Sparks, 1989, p.3)

All of the definitions presented for the term "stereotype" are similar to one another although they come from the different fields of psychology and education. Several key words arise in these seven definitions. The first three definitions use the words "belief" or "attitude", suggesting a cognitive base for stereotypes. The words "category" and/or "generalization" are also used in most definitions, stating another basic characteristic of stereotypes.

Allport, Aboud, and the Dictionary of Education's definitions connote a neutrality of stereotypes (as potentially being either negative or positive) whereas Lynch, Derman-Sparks, and the Anti-Defamation League's definitions suggest only negative tendencies.

The definition used for the purpose of this paper is that of the Anti-Defamation League.

Prejudice

"A set of rigid and unfavorable attitudes toward a particular group or groups which is formed in disregard of facts. An unsupported judgment usually accompanied by disapproval." (Anti-Defamation League, 1985)

"Prejudice is the holding of a belief or opinion without adequate rational grounds or in the face of rational evidence to the contrary of that belief of opinion." (Lynch, 1987, p.22)

Lynch also states that stereotypes are at the base of prejudice.

Prejudice is "an organized predisposition to respond in an unfavourable manner toward people form an ethnic group because of their ethnic affiliation." (Aboud, 1988, p.4)

"An attitude, opinion, or feeling formed without adequate prior knowledge, thought, or reason." (Derman-Sparks, 1989, p.3)

All four definitions of prejudice have a component of attitude and belief. However, according to Derman-Spark's definition, prejudice does not inherently relate to all members of a particular group. This definition is general but lacking in its absence of connection to stereotypes and ethnic groups. The Anti-Defamation League's definition is general, like that of Derman-Sparks, but includes a negative connotation. James Lynch recognizes a relationship between stereotypes and prejudice that Derman-Sparks does not.

Aboud's definition of prejudice, like Lynch's, includes the concept of a stereotype. This paper will lean towards Aboud's definition. Aboud's definition reinforces the idea that a stereotype can be of a positive nature (e.g. "All Hispanic women are beautiful."). Yet Aboud maintains that negativity arises when prejudice ensues.

Racism

Racism is "whatever acts or institutional procedures help create or perpetuate sets of advantages or privileges for whites and exclusions or deprivations for minority groups." (Chesler, 1976, p.22)

Racism is a "belief that some races are inherently superior to others."
(Dictionary of Education, 1981)

Racism is "the cumulative effects of individuals, institutions, and cultures that result in the oppression of ethnic minorities." (Taylor, 1984)

"Racism couples the false assumption that race determines psychological and cultural traits with the belief that one race is superior to another." (Anti-Defamation League, 1985)

This author views racism as the end result of embedded stereotypes and prejudice. Although racism is not thoroughly attended to in this paper, its prevention is intrinsically dealt with. The definition of racism adopted in this paper is that of Taylor. This definition is broad and suits the general purpose of this paper.

Multicultural Education

"Multicultural education is at least three things: an idea or concept, and educational reform movement, and a process. Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students-regardless of their gender and social class, and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics - should have an equal opportunity to learn n school. Multicultural education is also a reform movement that is trying to change the schools and other educational institutions so that students from all social-class, gender, racial, and cultural groups will have an equal opportunity to learn. " It is also a process of achieving educational equality and reducing prejudice and discrimination. (Banks & Banks, 1989, p.2)

Multicultural education is "an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. Multicultural education was founded on the basis that all students are entitled to sound educational experiences, regardless of skin color, class, ethnic group or socioeconomic status."

(Whalon & Karr-Kidwell, 1993)

According to both definitions, multicultural education is a way of thinking about education. It is based on the idea that all individuals are equal. Out of this educational reform movement comes multicultural curriculum. Multicultural curriculum will be discussed as it relates to stereotypes in later sections of this paper. The definition used for this paper will be that of Banks & Banks.

Anti-Bias

"An active/activist approach to challenging prejudice, stereotyping, bias and the "isms"." (Derman-Sparks, 1989, p.3)

This term also refers to a type of curriculum aimed specifically at dispelling stereotypes of any kind and preventing/stopping prejudice.

History of Stereotype Research and Curriculum

It is important to comprehend the history of the research of stereotypes in order to understand current issues in the field. This section will examine and discuss stereotype research from the 1930s to the 1990s. The literature and curriculum that arose as a result of the research will be reviewed.

Much of the research conducted on stereotypes is in the field of psychology. The landmark study which serves as a base for subsequent research was conducted by Katz and Braly (1933). Katz and Braly studied the responses of Princeton undergraduates to adjectives(chosen from a checklist) used to describe an ethnic group. Katz and Braly indicated that there existed a parallel between the stereotypes the students expressed and popular stereotypes portrayed in the media. In addition, Katz and Braly noted a relationship between stereotypes and prejudice.

Gordon Allport (1935) reinforced Katz and Braly's idea that prejudice is related to stereotypes. Allport contended that stereotypes are bad, rigid, and thought to impair an individual's cognition and perception.

Most of the studies conducted in the 1930s and 1940s dealt with the stereotype in the sense of being a social psychology construct. However, in 1950, the book The Authoritarian Personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) was published. Adorno et al. asserted a psychodynamic model of prejudice (also called the Inner State Theory). According to this model, stereotypes are part of a personality syndrome.

Stereotype studies in the late 1950s and 1960s continued to focus on ethnic groups and Katz and Braly's adjective checklist. In 1969, Henri Tajfel's paper entitled "Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice" significantly influenced the way social scientists thought about stereotypes and the research. Tajfel asserted that stereotypes are cognitive in nature, not a result of personality needs. Subsequent cognitive research

on stereotypes has been concerned with the way in which group stereotypes "affect the encoding storage, and retrieval of information about individual group members (Brewer & Kramer, 1985)."

Tajfel modified his 1969 views in the 1970s and early 1980s with his proposal of the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982b). According to this theory, both cognitive processes and motivational processes (in line with the psychodynamic views of Adorno et al. 1950) play a role in ethnic stereotyping.

A theory based on the cognitive approach to stereotypes is the Categorization Theory, proposed in the early 1980s. According to this theory, individuals tend to overestimate the homogeneity of other ethnic groups and perceive more variability in traits among people in their own ethnic group (Park & Rothbart, 1982).

Whereas much of the aforementioned research did not focus specifically on children, several researchers have studied children extensively. Clark and Clark (1947) used dolls to study young children's level of prejudice. Subsequent researchers have employed the use of pictures as well as oral interviews to assess the presence of stereotypes and prejudice (Aboud & Mitchell, 1977; Aboud, 1981; Lawrence, 1991; Levy & Katz, 1993).

Overall, present research continues to lean toward a social and cognitive basis for the development of stereotypes. Current research will be discussed thoroughly in subsequent sections of this paper.

Education's response to dealing with racial stereotypes can be seen in various forms as early as the 1940s. In the 1940s, school curriculum in some places had a component called "Intergroup Education". This approach was based on the idea that the dominant group would be taught to tolerate the subordinate group(s). School desegregation after the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. The Board of Education (1954) and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s led to more interaction among

various ethnic groups and thus, a direct need for a reformulation of curriculum to dispel stereotypes and prevent prejudice (Sleeter, 1991).

Through the 1960s and 1970s, multicultural curriculum was an added component to school curriculum. The majority of this curricula was characterized by a token approach to learning about strange and novel attributes of a certain ethnic group (Banks, 1988). According to James Banks (1988), this approach aided the reinforcement of ethnic stereotypes.

The 1980s produced much of the current literature and curriculum aimed at dispelling stereotypes and preventing/reducing prejudice. During this time, books and articles by James Banks led the way for a new way of thinking about multicultural curriculum. From this reform, dispelling stereotypes became consciously important to educators. According to Banks (1988), groups are not to be "tolerated" or studied for their exotic characteristics. Instead, multicultural curriculum should be based on an accurate portrayal of all ethnic groups and should be the basis of the goals and structure of the school curriculum.

During the 1980s, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith became involved in education aimed at dispelling stereotypes and reducing prejudice. Several other leaders in the field followed with literature and curriculum over the past few years. In addition, many universities, school districts, and Departments of Education have developed recent curriculum dealing with stereotypes.

The history of the field of stereotypes in education is ongoing. This author believes that scholars will continue to study education's response to the issue of stereotypes as educators will continue to improve the curriculum in relation to stereotypes.

Major Issues, Controversies, and Contributors

The major contributors to the field of research of stereotypes are Henri Tajfel, Phyllis Katz, and Frances Aboud. Phyllis Katz and Frances Aboud both propose a social-cognitive developmental stand on how children develop stereotypes. This theory is based on the idea that the development of stereotypes is related to a child's developmental level and cognitive structure (Aboud, 1988). Frances Aboud concentrates on the development of racial attitudes and prejudice in the context of two overlapping sequences of a child's development while Phyllis Katz focuses on the actual development of stereotypes in preschool-aged children (Levy & Katz, 1993). Although the two researchers have a slightly different focus, each researcher's views complement the other.

Henri Tajfel is a major contributor to the field of stereotypes with his Social Identity Theory, however, his research does not focus specifically on children. Thus, Tajfel does not propose a developmental component to stereotypes.

There are several major contributors to the field of educational literature and curriculum dealing with stereotypes. Multicultural education is a prevalent approach to combating stereotypes. One of the objectives of multicultural education is to correct racial stereotypes (Whalon & Karr-Kidwell, 1993). James Banks has published numerous articles and books concerned with multicultural education (Banks, 1988; Banks & Banks, 1989; Banks & Clegg, 1990; Banks and Banks, 1993). According to Banks (1989), multicultural curriculum should infiltrate the basic structure of the curriculum. It should be embedded in the goals of education. However, Banks (1988) states that one of the most frequently used approaches to multicultural curriculum is the Contributions Approach. In this approach, ethnic content is limited to special ethnic events such as the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. or Cinco de Mayo.

This approach does not help children understand ethnic groups as "dynamic wholes" and tends to reinforce stereotypes.

Banks (1988) calls for a Social Action Approach to multicultural curriculum. In this optimal approach, students make decisions and take action to deal with stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. The Social Action Approach is a far reach from the Contributions Approach. There are two additional approaches described by Banks leading to the Social Action Approach. The Ethnic Additive Approach integrates curricular materials dealing with various ethnic groups. It is often the first phase in the restructuring of multicultural curriculum, however, it has several disadvantages in comparison with the Social Action Approach. The Ethnic Additive Approach is characterized by a mainstream perspective and does not include changing curricular goals and structure. The Social Action Approach advocates multiple perspectives and a conversion of the curriculum.

The Transformation Approach is closer to the Social Action Approach. This approach enables students to view events and issues from different perspectives. The entire curriculum is affected by this approach, however, students are not empowered to evoke social change as in the Social Action Approach.

Louise Derman-Sparks is another major contributor to educational literature and curriculum dealing with racial stereotypes. Derman-Sparks is a proponent of anti-bias curriculum. While multicultural curriculum has a broader focus of educating children in regard to a variety of cultures by accurate portrayals, thus, dispelling stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes, anti-bias curriculum specifically concentrates on actively challenging stereotypes and prejudice. Derman-Sparks supports the research of Phyllis Katz on how young children racial stereotypes (Derman-Sparks, 1989; Derman-Sparks, 1993).

Derman-Sparks (1993) criticizes the multicultural curriculum she calls "tourist multicultural curriculum". According to Derman-Sparks, this approach to multicultural

education is the approach most commonly used in today's elementary classrooms. It is similar to Banks' Contributions Approach. She describes this curriculum as a "simplistic, inadequate version of multicultural education." She continues to describe it as disconnected from the daily curriculum, patronizing to other cultures, trivializing of cultural practices, and oversimplifying the diversity within a cultural group. She believes this use of multicultural curriculum may lead to stereotypes instead of dispelling them. This stand is in agreement with Banks' call for moving away from the Contributions Approach to multicultural curriculum.

Christine Sleeter is a major contributor to the field of multicultural education dealing with stereotypes. According to Sleeter (1991), multicultural education is a strategy for empowerment. Students should learn about ethnic groups and social issues affecting ethnic groups in order to actively invoke social change. Sleeter and Banks hold similar views. There are, however, other approaches to multicultural education which are criticized by Sleeter and deal differently with stereotypes. One of these approaches, "teaching the culturally different approach "(Sleeter, 1991), attempts to increase the achievement of minority students through the acquisition of mainstream values and skills. Another approach criticized by Sleeter is the "single group studies" approach which tends to define boundaries between groups.

An important contributor of curriculum, resources, and media presentation in the area of dispelling stereotypes and reducing prejudice is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). The ADL is active in training teachers in their program, " A World of Difference" (ADL, 1985). This program contains curriculum and other resources aimed at stereotypes and prejudice. One of the goals of "A World of Difference" is "to challenge the stereotypes and biases which inhibit intergroup understanding". An objective of the program is to counter stereotyping through student exploration of numerous experiences, within cultural and religious groups, that run counter to stereotypes. This program advocates teaching students how to identify stereotypes,

providing students with examples of individuals who counter stereotypes through their lives (e.g. the Native American doctor), and developing students' critical thinking skills.

In addition to the "A World of Difference" curriculum and training, ADL publishes and distributes books, videos, and programs aimed at dispelling stereotypes and reducing prejudice. As part of the "A World of Difference" program, KCBS-TV joined forces with the ADL to air numerous children's programs, editorials, prime time specials, and public service announcements in 1989.

In the specific field of social studies, Houghton Mifflin is a major contributor to the social studies curriculum in California schools. The Houghton Mifflin Social Studies Series (Nash et al.,1988) is the most widely used social studies texts in California public schools. The Houghton Mifflin series has attempted to dispel stereotypes through presenting accurate portrayals of historic events and the ethnic groups involved. In addition, this series attempts to advocate multiple perspectives (Nash, 1992). Houghton Mifflin's approach is content-based and is not reflective of a Social Action concept advocated by Banks, Sleeter, and Derman-Sparks.

Synthesis and Analysis of Research and Literature

The previous sections of this paper have dealt with the history of the research on stereotypes in general and the theories of the current contributors in the field. In this section, a thorough review of what the research and literature affirms about how children develop stereotypes will be presented. In addition, a review of current educational literature and curriculum will be included.

The research of how children develop stereotypes is abundant in the area of how African-American and European-American (white) children develop stereotypes of the other ethnic group (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Ramsey & Myers, 1990; Lawrence, 1991; Levy & Katz, 1993). There is little research relating to stereotypes involving other ethnic groups.

The research on how individuals develop stereotypes can be classified into research of adults and research of children. For the purpose of the remainder of this paper, research of children will take precedence. The research can also be classified according to psychological theory used as a frame of reference. Most of the current studies of children employ theories that are developmental, cognitive, and social in nature (Ramsey & Myers, 1990; Lawrence, 1991; Levy & Katz, 1993).

Several current research studies concentrate on how children develop racial stereotypes. According to Levy and Katz (1993), several aspects of the child's social cognitive development affect the development of stereotypes. The salience of the race dimension in social information processing, preferences for peers of the same or other race and memory for stereotyped representations affect the development of stereotypes.

Phyllis Katz makes several statements regarding the sequence of stereotype development. According to Katz (1993), infants attend to skin color differences. By the age of 2, children typically begin to ask questions to explain the differences and

similarities among people (Derman-Sparks, 1993). Between 2 1/2 and 3 1/2 years of age, children begin to "absorb prevailing negative stereotypes" (Derman-Sparks, 1993). This is the social aspect of the development of stereotypes in children. Children continue to expand their ideas about individual differences throughout the early childhood period. In the primary grades, children begin to attach a group identity to individuals. In summary, children develop stereotypes as a result of cognitive processes during the developmental period as a result of socialization.

The primary years are crucial for dispelling existing stereotypes. According to Aboud (1988), racial attitudes tend to maintain constancy after the age of 9 unless a life-changing event occurs.

Other research has focused on aspects affecting stereotypical beliefs in children. Ramsey and Myers (1990) suggest that salience of race for children may differ with the diversity of the community and type of cognitive demands placed on the child.

Valerie Lawrence (1991), studied the effect of racial stereotypes on children's (age 6-9) perceptions of ambiguous situations. Lawrence concluded that "race affects how behavior is interpreted in ambiguous social situations (1991). In addition, Lawrence asserts that when a child holds strong racial stereotypes, the stereotypes have an affect on the organization of encoded information.

The current research appears to be in accord with a cognitive basis for stereotypes in children. Ramsey and Myers (1990) and Levy and Katz (1993) agree that salience of race is an important factor in the development of stereotypes. However, Levy and Katz attend to children's memory of stereotyped portrayals (cognitive focus) while Ramsey and Myers attend to racial contact patterns (social focus). Lawrence continues on to apply cognitive stereotype research to how children perceive the actions of others.

While psychological research provides evidence of how children develop stereotypes and cognitive characteristics of stereotypes, it does not suggest how to dispel ethnic stereotypes. The field of education assumed much of the responsibility for dispelling stereotypes. Subsequently, educational literature about how to dispel stereotypes and related curriculum was developed.

Marilynn Brewer and Norman Miller (1988) assert that intergroup contact of students can have a positive effect on dispelling existing stereotypes. Brewer and Miller define three different changes that can take place as a result of intergroup interactions. These are: change in attitudes toward the social category, increased complexity of intergroup perceptions, and decategorization. Brewer and Miller suggest cooperative interactions in which attention is given to the personal characteristics of the individual instead of to the ethnic group of membership. In addition, Brewer and Miller contend that cooperative learning activities such as jigsaw are especially successful. This literature supports racially heterogeneous classrooms.

Howard Gardner (1991) affirms that educators should present "multiple entry points" (p. 246) towards a issue of a problem. This pluralistic way of perceiving an issue or problem can be powerful in combating rigidity of student thinking. It is this rigidity that contributes to stereotypical beliefs.

James Banks' stand of multiple perspectives coincides with Gardner's view. Banks (and Sleeter) advocate a Social Action approach to multicultural education. Students are challenged to take action in response to learning about stereotypes and prejudice.

Rey Gomez (1991) emphasizes the teacher's role in eliminating stereotypes. Gomez suggests that material and activities be presented that emphasize the learning of similarities of all individuals. He outlines five myths of multicultural education including the polarity of "us" and "them".

Louise Derman-Sparks (1993), proponent of anti-bias curriculum, advocates the need for clarity about goals for educating children in regards to stereotypes and bias. She proposes four goals:

#1 - "Nurture each child's construction of a knowledgeable, confident self- concept and group identity."

#2 - "Promote each child's comfortable, empathetic interaction with people from diverse backgrounds."

#3 - "Foster each child's critical thinking about bias."

#4 - Cultivate each child's ability to stand up for her/himself and for others in the face of bias."

(Derman-Sparks, 1993, p. 69)

Derman-Sparks suggests integrating multicultural and anti-bias activities into daily curriculum at every grade level. She recognizes the importance of children's interaction with adults taking a stand against stereotyping and bias. In addition, she enlists parents and other adult family members to become involved in the child's anti-bias education. Derman-Sparks joined forces with the A.B.C. Task Force to publish Anti-Bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children. In this publication, a reprint of the Council on Interracial Books for Children's article "Ten Quick Ways to Analyze Children's Books for Sexism and Racism (1980)" is included to help the educator assess books that may encourage stereotypes.

Of the authors in the field of education reviewed thus far, Derman-Sparks is the most aggressive in her attempts to dispel racial stereotypes. Although all the authors have the same end result in mind, each focuses on a different manner of meeting the goal.

The educational literature dealing with the issue of stereotypes can be classified according to the ease of applicability in the classroom. While Brewer, Miller,

and Gardner's presentations are more academic in nature, Gomez, Banks, Sleeter, and Derman-Sparks present information that can be readily applied to the classroom. Derman-Sparks is perhaps the most applicable literature since her work, Anti-Bias Curriculum (1989), borders literature and curriculum.

The literature can also be classified according to the level of student action advocated. Banks, Sleeter, and Derman-Sparks tend to agree on the need for students to be empowered to take social action inside and outside of the classroom in response to stereotypes. Brewer, Miller, Gardner, and Gomez present a more cognitive, classroom-based goal in relation to stereotypes. However, none of the current authors discussed in this paper advocate a shallow "Contributions Approach" to ethnic content.

Multicultural and anti-bias curriculum is abundant. The ADL publishes many guides as well as provides training in the comprehensive "A World of Difference" program. The focus of "A World of Difference" is social, acting as an umbrella over all school curriculum. The Houghton Mifflin Social Studies Series attempts to dispel stereotypes through a more content-based, less social approach.

In addition, many additional sources have published curriculum guides dealing with stereotypes (San Diego Public Schools; Mortenson (University of Nebraska), 1980; Michigan Department of Education, 1990). These guides give suggestions for various activities in various curricular areas to use and a rationale (as does "A World of Difference").

There are activity guides and a content-based series, however, there is not an abundance of curriculum aimed at the management of a comprehensive curriculum which has the goals of multicultural education embedded in its structure. There is no widely used guide for beginning and managing a school program that teaches all required content areas in the context of multicultural/ anti-bias teaching.

The raw material is ample, however, the tools for successful implementation are left to the teacher. Some teachers can pull from the various sources to successfully implement suggestions made by literature using activities from the various sources without any curricular management plan. However, this author feels that more teachers would attempt this process if a step-by-step management and integration manual was provided for reference and support.

Overall, much of the research, literature, and curriculum is heading in a common direction. While individual researchers and authors may express different views regarding the process of dispelling stereotypes, most agree on the need for the eradication of stereotypical beliefs of children.

Conclusions

As a result of the author's research and review of the literature surrounding the field of stereotypes, several conclusions can be reached.

First, dispelling stereotypes is a crucial part of social studies instruction. The opportunities for enhancing racial stereotypes through inaccurate portrayals of ethnic groups in the content area of the social sciences are abundant (Gardner, 1991). A conscious effort must be made to dispel stereotypes instead of contributing to their development.

Second, teaching about stereotypes (and dispelling them) can feel risky to teachers because of the sensitive issues involved. Pauline Dyson (1988) sponsored a rural-urban exchange project with high school students in order to dispel existing stereotypes regarding inner city African-Americans. According to Dyson, the project could have been harmful by contributing to stereotypes due to the inability of the teacher to control all outcomes of the project. However, she raises significant questions regarding the value of risk-taking in the social studies. Dyson challenges

educators by asking, "What are the social studies if they are not about understanding real and significant issues, and not just the safe ones? What are the social studies if they are not about seeking accurate information without prejudicing the outcome? What are the social studies if they are not about student participation in real learning? And what are the social studies if they are not about long-term learning of attitudes and values(Dyson, 1988, p.85)?" Dyson's challenge involves a long process of acquiring attitudes and values, not just a short-term project experience.

Third, it can be concluded that, in order to dispel existing stereotypes and prevent the development of new stereotypes, objectives in the affective domain (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1964) should be included in all social studies instruction. The affective domain includes objectives related to feelings, attitudes, and values. It is concerned with the development of appreciations and values. Much of the content in the Houghton Mifflin Social Studies Series is concerned with the cognitive domain (Bloom, 1956). However, effective instruction involving stereotypes is inherently centered in objectives within the affective domain.

Lastly, issues involving stereotypes can arise in other curricular areas such as language arts, science, math, and art. Dealing with stereotypes is an issue that provides for integration of social studies issues across the curriculum.

Recommendations

As a result of the author's research and review of the issue of racial stereotypes, several recommendations can be made. These recommendations are for teachers, administrators, parents, school districts, state educational agencies, private agencies, future researchers, publishers, and the media.

It is the author's recommendation that teachers deal with stereotypes directly. This issue should be integrated across the curriculum and dealt with on an ongoing

basis (in planned instruction and as the need arises). Children should be taught to think critically about stereotypes they hold and/or stereotypes they see portrayed in literature, textbooks, and the media. Teachers should preview materials for stereotypical representations of any ethnic group. If these materials are employed, due to other positive attributes of the materials, a class discussion should be included focusing on the accuracy of the portrayal and the implications of the stereotype.

Administrators should seek in-service training for school staff on how to present accurate portrayals of ethnic groups and how to dispel children's stereotypes. In addition, administrators should set a high standard for maintaining a school environment that actively dissipates stereotypical portrayals of ethnic groups and does not tolerate prejudice or racism in any form. Administrators should evaluate program goals to assess the presence of stated objectives regarding stereotypes in the context of multicultural education. Furthermore, parent education workshops dealing with the ways in which stereotypes and prejudice in children are related to parenting should be offered by the school.

Parents play a critical role in the development (or lack of development) of stereotypes in children (Branch & Newcombe, 1986). According to Karen Bauer (1992), parents should look at their own beliefs about other ethnic groups and recognize subtle stereotypes in order to help their children to create positive attitudes towards members of all ethnic groups. It is the author's recommendation that parents examine children's toys and literature at home to assess stereotypical portrayals of ethnic groups.

School districts, state educational agencies, and private agencies (such as ADL), should continue to create curriculum for dealing with stereotypes. More emphasis should be given to curriculum that contains numerous affective objectives and integrates skill and content areas at every grade level so that dealing with stereotypes becomes a daily part of the school curriculum.

The author recommends that more research be conducted on the effects of curriculum dealing with stereotypes on children. Longitudinal studies are necessary to assess long-term outcomes. In addition, more research needs to focus on ethnic groups other than African-American and European-American in response to the current cultural diversity of California schools.

Publishers should refuse to publish books that portray individuals or ethnic groups in a stereotypical manner. As more literature is published portraying ethnic groups accurately, children will have more exposure to true representations of other groups.

Lastly, the media should work to dispel stereotypes instead of creating and strengthening them. The media has a powerful influence on childrens' (and adults') images of ethnic groups (Cortés, 1991). According to Wilma Longstreet (1989, p.44), "Our children are literally at the mercy of television...". Children and adult's television programs should make extensive efforts to portray individuals from all ethnic groups accurately.

In closing, the author believes the every facet of a child's environment should present accurate portrayals of all ethnic groups to increase the likelihood that existing stereotypes will be dispelled and new stereotypes prevented from forming.

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